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INSIDE
EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW

Five leading Hamas activists to run in PA elections

JON IMMANUEL

HAMAS is running in the Palestinian elections after all - albeit unofficially - by running a handful of members as independent Islamists.

Meanwhile, the Interior Ministry announced yesterday that it had disqualified nearly 47% of the voters the Palestinian Authority had registered in eastern Jerusalem, saying the listings were either erroneous or constituted double entries.

Four well-known Hamas activists declared on Saturday night that they were running as independents. This brings the number of known Hamas officials running in the election to five. Imad Falouji, editor of the Hamas weekly *Al-Watan*, declared his candidacy two weeks ago.

Ismail Haniya, an Islamic University trustee, was one of the 400 Islamic extremists expelled to Lebanon in late 1992. Khaled el-Hindi is a treasurer of the Islamic University. Both were members of a reconciliation committee which met with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat to pave the way for the failed Cairo talks last month between Hamas and the PA.

Said Namrouqi was jailed in Israel for Hamas activities and Nasser Muzaini is a lecturer at the Islamic University.

While Falouji was "officially" thrown out of Hamas by its leaders abroad, the other four have not been thrown out, and in fact have the blessing of Hamas's spiritual leader, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. Furthermore, the new candidates, by announcing their candidacy together, are essentially declaring themselves a bloc. Only the Palestinian People's Party has formed a larger bloc.

Hamas is thus doing what local left-wing opponents of Oslo did not dare do: defying the will of its leaders abroad.

The advantages to Hamas of operating through independents are clear. If they all win, they can act as a Hamas bloc. If they lose, the name of Hamas is not besmirched by their defeat, which can be blamed on their personal failures. And since they are not officially

(Continued on Page 4)



Ofakim workers demonstrate outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday to protest the closing of the Otman factory and the overall unemployment situation there. (Issac Harari)

Peres vows to help Ofakim

Jerusalem Post Staff and Itim

"We will solve the problem of Ofakim, and I commit myself to this," Prime Minister Shimon Peres yesterday told representatives of the Negev town, led by Mayor Micha Herman, who came to his office.

Peres promised to personally deal with bringing entrepreneurs to Ofakim. The government is now helping some 132 businesses, with 660 jobs - including ECI Telecom - prepare to open in Ofakim.

Peres promised that Ofakim will be included in the special focused development plan, with emphasis on issues such as education, infrastructure, employment, housing, and immigrant absorption - the only community included in the plan out of dozens of applicants.

Earlier, dozens of workers from the Otman factory had demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's Office to protest plans to shut the plant. The demonstrators tried to march on the office, but were prevented from doing so by police. One demonstrator was arrested.

The workers expressed their dissatisfaction with the suggested solutions to their employment situation raised until now, saying that it was inconceivable for working mothers to be asked to travel long distances to work. They said they were demanding a local solution that would guarantee them work in Ofakim.

Meanwhile, Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz announced that the Histadrut had started a campaign among large workers' committees to convince them to buy 75,000 sweaters from the Otman plant to keep it going for the next six months.

The Mishan old-age home network agreed to buy 3,500 sweaters and Bezek, Israel Electric Corporation, Dead Sea Works, Kapat Holim Calit, Histadrut, Israel Aircraft Industries, Bank Discount, Bank Hapoalim, and Israel Industries-TAAS workers have expressed interest in buying sweaters. World was being awarded from the Defense Ministry about a plan to have it buy another 100,000 sweaters for the army.

Labor Party claims to have 300,000 members

SARAH HONIG

THE Labor Party last night claimed a record 300,000 dues-paying members.

By contrast, the recently concluded Likud membership drive yielded 200,000 members.

Labor concluded its drive last night and according to party secretary-general Nissim Zivili, yesterday alone netted 90,000 new members.

Zivili promptly phoned Prime Minister Shimon Peres to inform

him of the result of the drive, and Peres declared: "This is a mobilization for peace."

Peres denied that this would give him any reason to call early elections. "We received a mandate until October 29, 1996, and we plan to carry out our commitment," he said.

However, Peres did not discount the possibility of calling early elections, saying "Of course, if (Continued on Page 9)

Shetreet repays his ministry for electioneering booklet

EVELYN GORDON and HAIM SHAPIRO

RELIGIOUS Affairs Minister Shimon Shetreet has agreed to repay the ministry NIS 10,000, which was spent to produce a booklet of election propaganda, the Movement for Quality Government in Israel reported yesterday.

According to the movement, the booklet contained many pictures of Shetreet, quotes from him, and articles praising him. Though the booklet was produced and paid for by the ministry, it was distributed to some 3,000 Labor Party members who are expected to vote in the party's primaries.

The movement had sent a letter of complaint to Shetreet, noting that the use of ministry funds for election propaganda was not only

unethical, but probably illegal. In response, Shetreet told the movement that he would repay the money. The movement expressed satisfaction at this decision.

Ministry spokesman Ofer Amar said that the brochure had been planned in good faith to describe the work of the ministry. After the movement had complained, Amar said, Shetreet asked the ministry's legal adviser to examine the brochure.

According to Amar, the legal adviser told Shetreet that the printing of the brochure had been entirely within the law. However, Amar said, to make certain there would be no hint of wrongdoing, Shetreet decided to pay for it himself.

Barak plays down progress in Syria talks

DAVID RUDGE, LIAT COLLINS and HILLEL KUTTLER

FOREIGN Minister Ehud Barak last night put a damper on the optimistic tone about the negotiations with Syria prevalent at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

While Prime Minister Shimon Peres emphasized the openness and positive atmosphere of the talks in Maryland, where Israeli and Syrian delegations met last week, Barak said it is still unclear if Israel has a serious negotiating partner.

Ambassador to the US Itamar Rabinovich, meanwhile, categorically denied reports that he is considering quitting the negotiating team because he had been displaced as head of the delegation by Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir.

"The report is just not true and never was true," Rabinovich said. In Washington, the Israeli, Syrian, and American delegations are taking the long holiday weekend off prior to resuming negotiations on Wednesday.

The US will meet separately with both sides tomorrow, Israeli officials said.

In a meeting with a delegation from the Golan Residents Committee, Barak said that both sides "had yet to begin to talk about substance, and it will take more time to know whether there is a partner to negotiate with," a Foreign Ministry statement said.

"Even then, if negotiations open, they will be lengthy and complicated," it quoted Barak as saying.

At the cabinet meeting, Peres - according to an official briefing - reiterated his stand that the extent of peace would directly influence the extent of the withdrawal on the Golan Heights, and the timetable would depend on the quality of the peace.

He said the differences with Syria are largely over the type of peace and the extent of economic relations. Peres said that a peace agreement without economic support would be a cold peace, like that with Egypt.

He denied media reports that demands or maps have been submitted to the US and denied alleged commitments made by Yitzhak Rabin.

Peres stressed the regional aspect of any peace agreement, differentiating between a "political" peace without Libya, Iran, and Iraq and a "strategic" peace which would include them.

He said no date had been set for the resumption of talks with Syrian military officers.

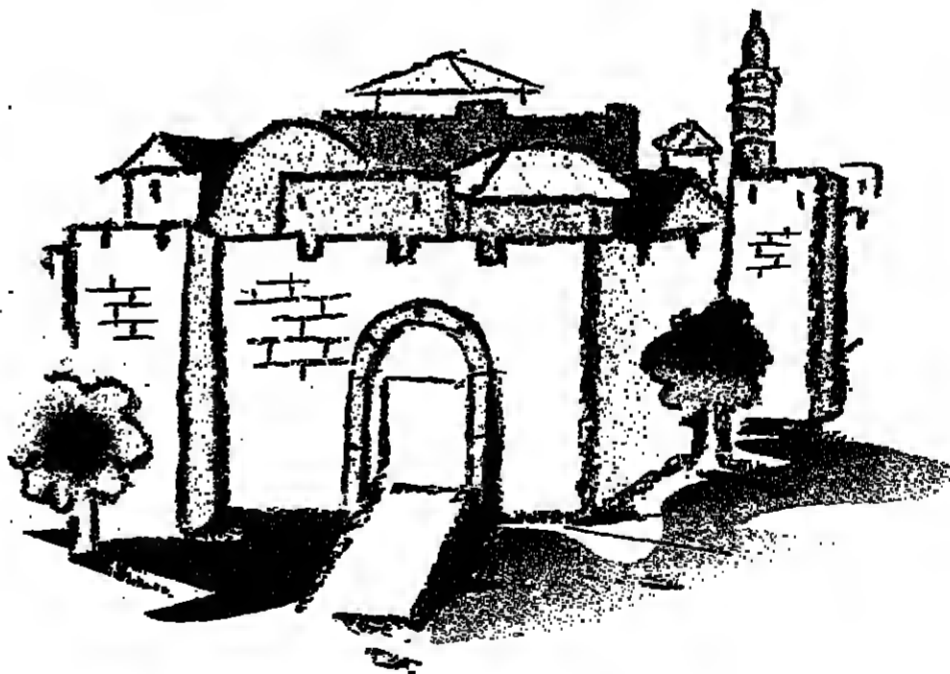
Peres also emphasized the "acute water problem," and said there could be no agreement endangering the country's water supply or Lake Kinneret.

The Syrian news agency SANA quoted chief negotiator Walid Mualeem as saying the sides discussed a number of issues "with clarity and seriousness."

But he said: "No final understanding was reached on any of the subjects which were discussed."

A breakthrough in the talks is unlikely in the near future, said Katziin Local Council chairman

(Continued on Page 4)



Tamir Cohen (Jacobson)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

F. DAVID RADLER, Chairman, Board of Directors YEHUDA LEVY, President & Publisher

DAVID BARILAN, Executive Editor JEFF BARAK, Managing Editor ALEC ISRAEL, Associate Editor...

Election bribe

STORIES of campaign shenanigans, those "dirty tricks" designed to embarrass political rivals, always seem as incredible as they are senseless...

Administrative detention abuse

ADMINISTRATIVE detention is a legitimate weapon in the hands of a government combating riots and terrorism...

And to further sweeten the deal, the final-status negotiations would be accelerated by the government. "Arafat will gain twice," Ben Eliezer said...

It is perhaps in the nature of politicians to confuse their own destiny with that of the nation's, and to view the victory of their political rivals as an unmitigated national disaster...

Year's end is filibuster time

Hermit MK Yohanan Bader first introduced the tactic to the Knesset in the late 1960s. Since the return of the Labor Party to power in 1992, it has become the method of choice for the Likud to drive the coalition up the wall...



Perilous slip of the tongue

PRIME Minister Peres was recently asked about Israel's nuclear weapons policy, in the wake of Egypt's intensive public campaign to strip Israel of this deterrent...

GERALD M. STEINBERG

The strategic depth necessary for absorbing an attack and preparing a counterattack (as was necessary in 1973) is declining. The Arab states maintain very large conventional armies...

Peres's exchange of nuclear weapons for peace is far too simplistic

With a long history of conflict and only reluctant acceptance of the Jewish state, Arab and radical Islamic leaders in the region may see a non-nuclear Israel as a very vulnerable target...

Of victims and victimizers

YOSEF GOELL

THE proposal that the government permit the resettlement of 600 Arab families in the deserted Upper Galilee villages of Irit and Biram is intended to right a historic wrong...

demanded equality under the law. What is clearly needed in the case of Irit and Biram, 47 years after the event, is a symbolic restoration, and an admission of wrongdoing by Israel's government...

...and another thing...

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

LAST week the annual budget filibuster came around again, following which many MKs went on to New Year parties. Both rituals are foreign imports, superfluous and totally foreign to Jewish tradition...

Year's end is filibuster time

Hermit MK Yohanan Bader first introduced the tactic to the Knesset in the late 1960s. Since the return of the Labor Party to power in 1992, it has become the method of choice for the Likud to drive the coalition up the wall...

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DUE PROCESS

Sir, - Mr. Oskar Prager's letter of December 18, "Police state," totally misrepresents my statement on incitement in schools...

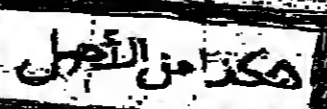
'POST' SCHOLARSHIPS

Sir, - I was one of a large number of guests attending the 70th anniversary celebrations of the Hebrew University held on December 7 under the auspices of its Jerusalem Friends...

THE AACI

Sir, - Heidi Gleit's article of December 7, "Putting a little English in voluntarism," calls the AACI an immigrant group involved only in helping "compatriots" acclimatize in their "new land"...

Further, Mr. Prager exhibits a baffling misconception of the difference between a democratic Israel taking strides against incitement to murder and a racist Nazi regime bent on genocide...



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The New York Times
Weekly Review

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No Free Rides
Generational Push Has Not Come to Shove



War between the generations hasn't started yet, but when baby boomers begin a wave of retirements, political analysts expect more tensions over taxes and benefits. Above, three generations of a family in New Hope, Pa. Jack Rosen/Impact Visuals

By **ROBIN TONER**

WASHINGTON WAS 1995 the first skirmish in the great generational war? If so, many analysts suggest, Americans have little stomach for it. For years now, an influential group of academics and political theorists has been predicting this clash: As a great wave of baby boomers begins to retire in the next 15 years, generational tensions will come to drive American politics just as race and class and ethnicity have in eras past. It is a chilling vision of a not-so-distant future, as the first boomers, born in 1946, begin to turn 50 tomorrow: The elderly and soon-to-be-elderly angrily protecting their benefit programs; the young increasingly resentful as programs for the elderly take a greater

share of Federal resources; the whole system growing more precarious as the population gets older, putting more and more of a burden on the people still in the work force. To many on Capitol Hill, the interests of the old and the young already seem at odds in the Federal budget. The Congressional Budget Office, for example, projects that Medicare will grow about 10 percent a year, consuming more than 17 percent of the budget by the year 2005, up from about 12 percent in 1996. Devotees of "generational accounting," like Lawrence Kotlikoff, an economist at Boston University, warn that even the Republican proposal to balance the budget and trim these benefit programs was far too little and much too late. Yet the 1995 budget battle, which was dominated by Republican plans to squeeze \$270 billion from Medicare, underscored what politicians have long suspected. Policy analysts may see the old and the young locked in

So far, the young seem more concerned with care for the elderly than with the cost.

an ugly struggle — epitomized in a Newsweek cover this year showing a weary young man with an old woman in a wheelchair on his back — but voters generally do not. Behind those nasty, budget-busting benefit programs are the parents and grandparents of the young (a sort of 1990's version of "Don't shoot, we are your children"). Mark Mellman, a Democratic pollster, said: "I think what we've learned about generational warfare is

that it's largely a myth. Everything we've seen in our polling is that younger people are just as concerned about protecting Medicare and Social Security as their parents." Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster and adviser to the House Republican leadership, agreed that there was little evidence of true generational conflict in 1995. "I don't think it's a skirmish because I don't think the younger generation is fighting back," he said. There are some obvious reasons for this: For all the talk about the breakdown of the extended family, some scholars say, the bonds between the generations remain surprisingly strong. True, the Waltons are no longer the norm: In 1952, 38 percent of the people over 65 were living with their children; 35 years later, that figure had dropped to 20 percent, according to the American Association of Retired Persons (in part, Continued on page 2

What a Concept!
Nope. Nothing new under the sun.
By Evelyn Nieves **2**

Comfort Zone
The latest in down home diplomacy
By Christopher S. Wren **3**

Surprise!
Still in the Balkans, now protecting Americans.
By Barbara Crossette **4**

Blood Brothers?
Palestinian Christians seek reassurance.
By Serge Schmemmann **3**

Season of the Seer
Here's the Future. Look Familiar?
By **JAMES ATLAS**

ONE book under a lot of Christmas trees this year was Bill Gates's "The Road Ahead," which opened — to borrow a term appropriate to its publishers' aggressive marketing strategies — at the top of the best-seller list, and promises to remain there long after the last pine needles have been swept from the hearth. And why not? Mr. Gates's book is ideally suited to this season of good cheer: In his view (a view no doubt shared by the stockholders in his flourishing Microsoft Corporation), the road ahead is paved with gold. "The network will draw us together, if that's what we choose, or let us scatter ourselves into a million mediated communities." Not everyone shares Mr. Gates's optimism. Consider the rival scenario advanced by Kirkpatrick Sale, whose "Rebels Against the Future" contains the pointedly ominous subtitle "Lessons for the Computer Age." Where Mr. Gates revels in the sheer ingenuity of invention, overjoyed by a device that can list "all the stores that carry two or more kinds of dog food and will deliver a case within 60 minutes to my home address," Mr. Sale is troubled by a world in which technology is a harbinger of social disintegration. For him, the history of the Luddites, textile workers who rose up at the beginning of the 19th century against the mass-production factories that posed a threat to their livelihood, offers a cautionary tale: "Beware the technological juggernaut, reckon the terrible costs, understand the worlds being lost in the world being gained, reflect on the price of the machine and its systems on your life, pay attention to the natural world and its increasing destruction, resist the seductive catastrophe of industrialism."

Prophets, Prophets, Everywhere
Mr. Gates and Mr. Sale are both fun to read once you accept the premise of their books: namely, that they're works of prophecy. "The Road Ahead" is a fable, a version of the utopias spun out over the centuries by human beings aspiring to realize a better world than the one we inhabit. "Rebels Against the Future" belongs to an equally popular genre: the doom-saying pamphlet that alerts us to gathering clouds of destruction. As we approach the third millennium, the prophets are out in force. To scan the shelves in Barnes & Noble is to be assaulted by exhortations and imprecations from every side. The economist Jeffrey Madrick, in the great tradition of *endism* pioneered a few years ago by Francis Fukuyama in his celebrated and derided book "The End of History and the Last Man," warns us that "The End of Affluence" is at hand; Bill McKibben, in "Hope, Humana and Wild," makes — as his subtitle puts it — "A Plea for Simpler Living as the World Warms Up." Mr. Gates makes an opposite plea: For him, the

Season of the Seer
Here's the Future. Look Familiar?
If you're a futurist, where we're going depends on where you're coming from.

The First Futurist
Who's right? Something is happening, and we don't know what it is — but an army of prophets is giving us the answers anyway. Foretelling the future is a venerable literary pas-

time. Ever since Sir Thomas More in 1516 devised his "Utopia" (from the Greek *ou-topos*, "no place"), an ideal city-state in which reason reigned and money had been forever banished, visionaries have ventured out on the road ahead — have imagined, in the words of T. S. Eliot, that "Time present and time past are both perhaps contained in time future, / And time future contained in time past." Edward Bellamy's once-famous novel, "Looking Continued on page 3

The World

The Mission Not Accepted

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

THE Clinton Administration apparently does not want Congress to hear the words Eastern Slavonia. Relieved that the dispatch of American troops to Bosnia got Congressional backing, Washington is determined to palm off peacekeeping next door in Eastern Slavonia, the last holdout of Croatian Serbs, to a reluctant United Nations.

Logically, the operation there could be part of the NATO mission. The preferred route for American supplies from Germany and Hungary to the Pentagon's headquarters in Tuzla runs right through Eastern Slavonia. At one point it passes within five miles of territory known as Sector East, at the tip of Croatia's northern fork, which is controlled by Serb militias not party to Balkan peace agreements.

Some diplomats here are puzzled by the Clinton Administration's insistence that the same international peacekeeping apparatus it regularly denounced in Bosnia should be given the responsibility of disarming Eastern Slavonia, easing out its Croatian Serb occupiers and returning it to Croatian Government control — with guarantees of protection for Serb populations — over the next critical year or two.

Eastern Slavonia is perilous, and the U.S. left it to the U.N.

The United States wants a small force (Washington is charged for a quarter of all United Nations peacekeeping costs) and prefers that the troops not be given war powers, except to protect themselves. Diplomats question how such a limited force can be expected to help safeguard the American lifeline to Tuzla against sabotage or prevent the Croatian Army from seizing Sector East by force. There are still differences of opinion on exactly how much territory in Eastern Slavonia will be under U.N. control. Croatia has recently resisted the stationing of international contingents on its soil.

United Nations officials and those envoys close to the debate in the Security Council, which must create the peacekeeping mission for Eastern Slavonia by Jan. 15, say Americans are acknowledging in closed-door discussions that politics is driving the Administration's decision, and that not everybody in Washington involved in carrying out the policy believes it is wise.

"The United States has a long history of deploring divided command arrangements, dual keys and so on," said James Scheer, a Balkan specialist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. "Yet here there will be two separate operations not only close to each other but also where each has an impact upon the other."

American officials are confident that an agreement largely written by them, with the backing of President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, will hold because both want peace. "We believe the spirit of Dayton makes past assumptions not necessarily correct about how the parties will behave," said James P. Rubin, spokesman for the United States mission to the United Nations. "We strongly believe a properly structured U.N. peacekeeping force will be sufficient to implement the agreement between the Serbs and the Croats to make peace stick in Eastern Slavonia, and it is an appropriate division of labor for NATO to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia and a U.N. force to conduct a similar task in Eastern Slavonia."

Since Serbia did nothing earlier this year to halt the Croat seizures of Western Slavonia and Krajina, a much larger region occupied by Croatian Serbs, it is unlikely to act in Eastern Slavonia, officials believe. As for the Croats, President Tudjman has been sent a message from Washington that it will not condone military action in Eastern Slavonia as it did in the other areas seized by Croatian forces.

Officials and independent experts say the possibility of using NATO power in an emergency is being discussed as a contingency. Most believe the Croatian Serbs would be reluctant to "mess with NATO," as an official put it. There is also an expectation that Serbs in Croatia will be drawn into Bosnia. William Durch of the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, an independent security research organization, said he doubts that "Croatian Serb militias would stick their necks out for their Bosnian brothers."

An American Boss

Furthermore, an American, Jacques Klein, will be in charge of both civil and military operations in Eastern Slavonia as representative of Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Mr. Klein, a former diplomat and a major general in the Air Force reserves, will in effect govern at least part



U.S. soldiers near Zupanja, Croatia, rebuilding a bridge to Bosnia to carry supplies.

of the territory during a transitional period beginning in the next few weeks. He is now in the region on an inspection tour.

Eastern Slavonia — Sector East, in particular — is full of tensions and temptations. Devastated by Serb assault in 1991, cleansed of tens of thousands of Croats, threatened intermittently by attack from Zagreb and home to freelance militias beyond Belgrade's control, it is also rich in farmland and holds the promise of oil and natural gas. "The problem from the very beginning has been that local Serb militia elements are very independent there," said Mr. Scheer. "There is a history of U.N. efforts to disarm without much luck in Eastern Slavonia. That legacy is at the heart of U.N. nervousness about the whole demilitarization task."

Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, fearful of another peacekeeping debacle, thinks this is a job for a 11,300-strong mechanized combat division with air support. Madeleine K. Albright, the American representative, says a few thousand blue-helmeted United Nations peacekeepers are enough. Diplomats guess that the Security Council will settle on a force of 4,000 to 5,000, incorporating the 1,600 Russian and Belgian troops already based there.

Arguments between Washington and the United Nations have been unusually fiery:

Ms. Albright says the Secretary General is being counterproductive and misguided. He says her personalized attacks sink to vulgarity. American officials say the U.N. is miffed and wants "to take its marbles and go home" now that Washington has taken charge in Bosnia. A U.N. official counters that the organization is being used to spare the Administration the need to go back to Congress with the unfinished business of Eastern Slavonia.

United Nations officials foresee a repetition of the Bosnian "safe areas" fiasco, when the Secretary General's request for up to 35,000 troops to police the designated havens was whittled down by the American-dominated Security Council to 7,600, with predictable results. The United Nations took the blame.

"The U.N. will continue to be made the victim," wrote William J. vanden Heuvel, a former deputy American representative to the United Nations and board chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States, in a letter to the Secretary General on Dec. 15. "If NATO is unwilling to accept the responsibility, then certainly the Security Council must assure that the proposed U.N. force will be at least as well treated as the NATO forces — protected, trained, supplied, commanded and financed." That is not the Administration's plan.

GAME TIME

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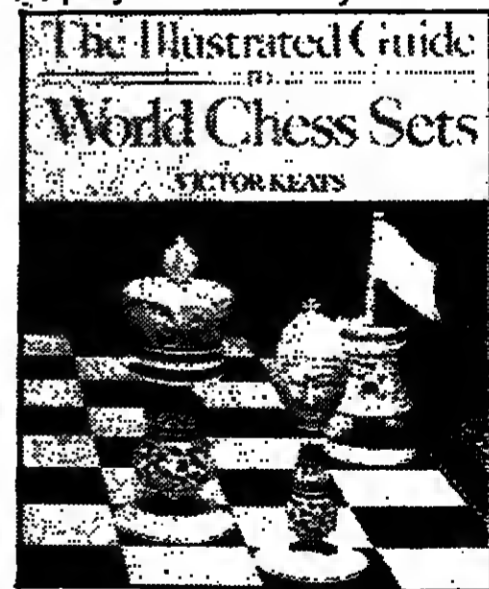
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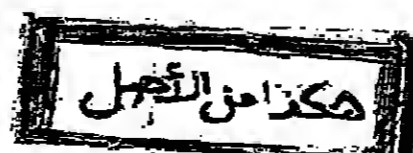
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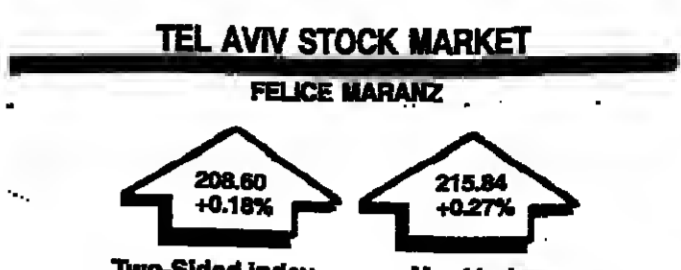
PRECIOUS metals ended a virtually lifeless session of pre-holiday trading on Friday with platinum futures showing the only measurable movement...

Survey: Bank deals lead merger activity in 1995

NEW YORK (Reuters) - US banks topped the list in a record year for mergers and acquisitions, accounting for five of the 15 largest deals announced in 1995...

Mergerstat Review also said US companies announced 3,521 mergers and acquisitions in 1995, up from 2,958 in 1994. The average size of all transactions increased to \$208.4 million...

Two-Sided rises; jumps 20% for '95



STOCKS rose yesterday, led by gains in the IDB investment group and Elbit Ltd. The Maof Index increased 0.27 percent to 215.84, and the Two-Sided Index edged upward 0.18 percent to 208.60.

Economists: China's economic gains came at expense of mountain of debt

BEIJING (Reuters) - As China's official press trumpeted 1995 economic achievements yesterday, economists warned that the battle against inflation was only half-won and gains had been achieved only at the cost of a mountain of debt.

Chief economist of the State Statistical Bureau, told the China Daily. Qiu said the government faced a challenging task in 1996 to balance growth, more jobs and higher farm output with a need for tight credit policy to keep down inflation.

Iraq signs deal with Jordan to supply oil

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraq agreed over the weekend to supply 4.4 million tonnes of oil to Jordan in 1996 and said the signing of the deal had not been affected by Amman giving refuge earlier this year to prominent Iraqi defectors.

LABOR PARTY

(Continued from Page 1) we encounter problems beyond our control, such as the loss of our Knesset majority while the peace process is at a crucial phase, then we shall have to reconsider our stand in regard to the election date.

TEL AVIV STOCKS table with columns for Name, Price, % Change, Volume, and various market indices.

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